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The Message of Internationalism

by JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

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The Message of Internationalism

by JOSEPH SCHLOSSBERG

Three Addresses on Working Class Solidarity

1. *End the Conspiracy Against Russia*
2. *An American Worker in Europe*
3. *A New International Relationship
A New World Power*

AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS

Education Pamphlets No. 8

NEW YORK, 1923



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End The Conspiracy Against Russia

The address was delivered before
The American Labor Alliance for
Trade Relations with Russia, in
New York, November 21, 1920. It
was estimated that 5,000,000 work-
ers were unemployed at that time.
The speaker made reference to that
situation.

MR. CHAIRMAN AND FELLOW WORKERS:

I have not yet shaken the dust of Europe from my boots. In a way, I have come to like European dust. The most precious things in Europe are lying in the dust today. And because I am still a foreigner, a European, just landed here last night, you will pardon me if my remarks are rather naive. I hope to acclimatize myself again quickly in this country, and I shall use proper language when I find my bearings again. At present I am still feeling Europe within me.

It is for that reason that it seems to me that the European workers are asking tonight: "Was it necessary for the American workers to be thrown out of the factories by their employers and put face to face with starvation, in order to realize that men, women, and children are being massacred in Russia by our blockade?"

The truth is that it is only because we see the wolf of hunger staring us in the face, because our own wheels of industry have come to a standstill, and there are not more pay envelopes in sight, that we have come to realize that there are in Russia one hundred and thirty million human beings with red blood, white hearts, and noble souls, against whom a world conspiracy has been formed to crush them because they are aspiring to the highest human ideals. We have come to realize that now, because those hundred and thirty million human beings are badly in need of the things which we can produce for them, that they will be excellent customers and give us employment if Washington will permit us to work for them.

The truth is that it was not before the clothing factories, and the shoe factories, and the textile mills, and all the fac-

tories and mills were shut down because of lack of orders that we became aware of the great moral responsibility resting upon us to demand the raising of the blockade against Russia. As long as our factories were running, Russia was to us only a Bolshevik madhouse. When unemployment overwhelmed us we recognized Russia as a great and very desirable market.

I am making no charge against anybody. I have already explained that I am speaking as a foreigner, as a European. I am just giving frank expression to my thoughts, which may not be a very tactful thing to do. I have not as yet found my bearings, as I said before. I shall find them tomorrow, I assure you. (Laughter.)

Perhaps it is well that unemployment came, and that we received that terrible shock which aroused us from our state of moral lethargy to some degree of consciousness. If that much good has really come from the unemployment scourge, we may well be grateful for it. Russia will be able to say to the American workers: "At last the great sleeping giant has awakened; at last he is coming to our aid."

I have been through Europe. Any one who travels through that part of the world today with thoughts of Russia and the Russian people in his mind feels upon his first entrance the spiked iron ring with which we have surrounded Russia. And the nearer you get to Russia the more you feel that ring shrink until it begins to cut into the flesh and the bone and the marrow, and it seems as if the very soul is being crushed out of mankind.

I came to Reval, in Esthonia, formerly a part of Russia.

There I met mostly anti-Bolshevists. There are also many Bolsheviks, as you may imagine, but for obvious reasons, they must be more cautious than their enemies. I met some of them, but they spoke haltingly, as I expected them to do, and I did not get as much information from

them as I got from the anti-Bolshevists. The latter spoke freely; perhaps too freely. I don't know whether they told me the truth or not, but I listened to them very attentively. I heard stories of the most outrageous conduct on the part of Bolsheviks as a political group and on the part of the Soviet as a government. I was not interested in judging in my own mind the plausibility of the stories and the credibility of those who had related them. I accepted them all at their face value and discounted nothing. I assumed that all the crimes and horrors the Bolsheviks and the Soviet were charged with were true. I even assumed that my relators told me less than they knew. And when I had assumed all that, I said to myself: "What a terrible indictment this is against the whole world!" If a great and peace loving people, which demands nothing but the freedom to live its own life, is compelled to resort to the atrocities it is charged with, not in order to oppress anybody, but in order to sustain itself, the crimes are not of that people but of the rest of the world, of the conspirators who are forcing those crimes upon Russia. The more crimes Russia is charged with by her enemies the more burning becomes the indictment of all the world outside of Russia.

And it was because I heard those stories of the anti-Bolshevists, those stories of blood and terror, imaginable and unimaginable; it was because of that fact that I left Reval with the determination to work harder than I had done in the past, and to take a greater part than before, in the struggle for the emancipation of great and noble Russia from the brutal grip of the imperialists of the world. I shall do all that may be in my power to help in arousing the American workers to an understanding of their duty to Russia, and also of the fact that there is only one power in this world that can set Russia free, and that is the working class of the world. (Great applause.)

On the boat that was taking me from Reval to Stockholm I saw a box addressed to Krassin in London. I went over and read the wax seal on the cord with which the box was tied. In the center of the seal was the name of the Russian Socialist Federated Soviet Republic and around it this legend: "By authority of the Esthonian Republic."

I never felt my blood boil more than at that moment. That great giant, that great and wonderful Russian giant of one hundred and thirty million people, protected by the picayune, little "self determined" country of Esthonia of eleven hundred thousand people, set up "independently" against Russia by the enemies of Russia. Great Russia, who has given so much to the world in literature, in art, in ideals, and who is now bringing tremendous sacrifices for a great cause, protected by tiny Esthonia, the toy of the Entente imperialists! Great Russia under the "protection" of little Esthonia is like a full grown man with vigorous physical, mental, and spiritual faculties under the "guidance" and "protection" of an almost invisible dwarf. It is not the fault of Esthonia. It is the fault of the workers of the world who are permitting their imperialist governments to keep Russia in a spiked iron ring and employ little Esthonia to exercise "authority" over Russia.

In some countries the workers are taking action on behalf of Russia, sometimes in a very interesting manner, as the Italian seamen have done. A Russian steamer, the Rodosta, came into the harbor of Genoa. It was flying the Czar's flag. When the Italian seamen, who are well organized, learned that the boat had come in and that it was carrying arms and munitions for Russia's enemies, they seized it. The seamen's union declared that the Rodosta was a pirate ship (Laughter) because it was flying the flag of a government which was no longer in existence. (Laughter and applause.) The union demanded the Italian government to hold the

boat. The workers responsible for stopping the steamer were arrested but they were quickly released by the government. When I left Italy the boat was still in Genoa harbor. (Applause.) The gentlemen for whom the arms and munitions were intended are still waiting for them. (Laughter and applause.) The Italian government did not dare move the ship from the harbor. The reason it did not dare was that if it had dared it would not have found a single seaman to move the ship for it. (Laughter and applause.)

Such things are possible in Italy. Similar things are possible in other countries.

Fortunately or unfortunately, we are thousands of miles away from Europe. It took only two and a half years for the war to come to us, but ideals and understanding of the common cause of the working classes of the world travel slower.

We must reckon with the conditions of the American workers as they are, not as we should wish them to be. Our appeal must be made to the American workers in a manner which they will understand and to which they will respond. We must bring them education on the Russian question. This is not the only subject on which education is lacking among the American workers, but this is the subject for us here today.

This education cannot be forced down the throats of the American workers by strong language. If I thought that strong language would help I would subscribe to the strongest language you can find in the dictionary, and make it still stronger.

In the work before us the acid test must be: "Will it help Russia?" If any proposed measure will help Russia it is good; if it will not help her, it is not good.

It must be our business now to carry this message to the American workers in a manner which will enable it to take deep root in the workers' minds and souls. And then let the

American workers speak. We may be confident that when the American workers are ready to speak clearly they will also know how to act effectively.

And then the American workers will be able to talk across the globe to the workers in Russia and say to them:

"Brothers, we have been late; we have not seen our duty in time; we see it now. We have arisen. We are with you. We stand with the rest of the working class movements of the world to do our full duty as organized workers—each labor movement in its own country, as a branch of the International Labor Movement!"

We have a great mission. Let us see that we live up to it. (Great applause.)

An American Worker in Europe

The following was in the nature of a brief and general account of experiences in Europe and the Labor Movement there in the autumn of 1920. The speaker was addressing the General Convention of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in Chicago, May 13, 1922. The bound volumes of *Advance* for 1920 and 1921 contain a detailed account of observations and impressions.

DELEGATES AND FRIENDS:

I want to submit to you now, very briefly, a message of internationalism. If the convention had more time I would take more time. Now, I shall touch but briefly upon a few of the leading points. My observations abroad have been published in a series of articles in our press, whenever I had time to write them. Some more will be published later, those parts of my observations which have not yet become obsolete.

The General Executive Board, in accordance with instructions received by the Boston convention, honored me with the election as delegate to the International Clothing Workers' Congress at Copenhagen, August, 1920. That was my first opportunity to see the labor movement in Europe. For that matter, it was my first opportunity to see Europe. I was born in Europe and lived there a few years; but it was not really in Europe; it was in the pale of settlement in Russia. In all the years I have been there, I have been dreaming of the international labor movement and the brotherhood of the workers of the world. I read as much as a worker here can read of the labor movement in the various countries. I listened to some people who came here from European countries and learned whatever little one could learn in that manner. I had never had an opportunity to see those movements myself, with my own eyes, get my impressions first hand and bring them back to you. I was, therefore, grateful for the opportunity to go to the other side and come in personal touch with the European labor movement. There I met with very pleasant surprises, and also with painful disappointments. My first disappointment in connection with the trip was right here, when the British representatives in

this country refused to honor the passport given to me by the government of the United States, recommending me, through that passport, to admission to England, and I had to cancel my ticket and go to Europe by another way.

I attended the conference of the clothing workers at Copenhagen. That was the first gathering of an international character in this industry since the war. The one before that was held in Vienna in 1913, the year before the war. The next congress was to be held in 1916, but the war made it impossible. It was quite thrilling to me to meet the representatives of the different countries so soon after the war. The internationalism that one of us finds in Europe is at least in one respect different from the internationalism which we have here. We have in our convention here an international family, representatives from all the different nationalities, but they are all workers living in this country with whom we meet every day in the year. At the Copenhagen congress I came in contact with representatives from various countries, who had come from their several countries and later went back from the congress to their respective countries. That internationalism is, therefore, in a sense a more real one. It was very pleasant to meet with the representatives of the different countries and legislate with them for the clothing industry in all of those European countries. This Clothing Workers' Federation is of great value to the European workers. It was my impression that the relationship among the clothing workers in the several countries in Europe is somewhat similar to the relationship among the several clothing markets in America. So are the geographical distances. Thus, the international organization is perhaps as necessary for the European workers as our own organization is here for the workers in the different cities, to co-ordinate and supervise the work of our organization in the different parts of the country.

The congress at Copenhagen adopted resolutions in favor of industrial unionism in the full sense of that term. Industrial unionism is much more general and more firmly established in the European labor movements than in this country. The congress also adopted resolutions in various other respects to strengthen and make more effective the organization work in the clothing industry. In Europe, the clothing industry is very backward, as compared with the clothing industry here. There are few factories of the kind we have here. The development of machinery has not reached the stage that it has here, and there is still very much home work. In some cases the bulk of the membership consists of home workers. They come into a store, something as journeymen tailors do here, take a few garments home and make them there. These workers are often compelled to have their wives and children help them in their work at their homes, because the earnings of the father are not enough to feed his family, without the aid of the other members of the family. The International Congress passed resolutions demanding the abolition of home work. Home work in Europe is not like the home work we had known here in the past. Here only some minor operations were done at home; in Europe the whole garment is made at home. It was quite a revelation for the European workers to learn that we here have large factories, that home work has practically been completely eliminated, that we have the forty-four hour week and that we speak of such large memberships and such large sums of money. It was very interesting to see the representatives from the different countries, which had been at each other's throats a short time before, meeting in conference to legislate for their common interests. The hatred and animosity and human bitterness engendered by the war, which had poisoned human minds everywhere, were still there. They had not been eliminated by the various

peace treaties, but a conscientious effort was made on the part of everybody to overcome those obstacles. Human prejudices and international hatred engendered and developed in the course of centuries asserted themselves when the war broke out and it was no easy task for the teachings of international labor solidarity, teachings which make their appeal to the mind and to reason, to subdue those deep-rooted, centuries old, mutual hatreds, which were so deep in the blood of those people. The hopeful sign was that a real effort was made on the part of everybody to work in the spirit of human brotherhood.

There were a number of things done by the congress that were encouraging, and held out hope for the future; there were other things that were not encouraging. Among the latter was the hostile attitude toward Russia. The Russian clothing workers were not invited to the congress, and it was impossible to get the congress to adopt a resolution in favor of Russia, who was at that time blockaded by her enemies.

From Copenhagen I went to other parts of Europe. I went up north, and came to Reval, which had been a part of Russia before the war, and which has since become the capital of a so-called self-determining republic, Esthonia. You know, the peace treaty at Versailles was very democratic. The makers of the treaty left it to each country to determine its own boundaries, and Esthonia was allowed the principle of self-determination. This principle actually means that the country can do nothing without the permission of the allies. I saw "self-determination" there. While I have been and still am a very firm believer in self-determination, I must say that if self-determination is what I saw in Esthonia, I think the less the world has of it the better off it will be. (Applause.)

In Reval I met with friends and enemies of Russia. I was so close to Russia that I was practically in Russia.

Russia has its official representatives in Reval, and there were many people coming from Russia and going back there. The people I met with most often were against Russia, as those who were for Russia were exceedingly cautious with strangers. I heard hair-raising stories about Soviet Russia. One of the men who talked to me was staying at the hotel where I was stopping and was waiting for the time when the allies would overthrow the Russian government and give him back his factory. He is still waiting. (Laughter and applause.) That man told me of the great work he had done in the revolutionary movement under the Czar. He was at that time a large employer. The Soviet government deprived him of the opportunity to continue serving himself as an employer of labor, and he is highly dissatisfied. I have heard many terrible stories. I listened attentively to all of them. I did not attempt to discount any of them. It was those stories, told me there by the enemies of Russia, that convinced me of the necessity of the workers of the world coming to the defense of Russia. If the history of Russia is ever written by true historians, and they record those stories as I heard them, they will draw an indictment against the civilized world for having forced people who had unselfishly made the greatest sacrifices for Russia's freedom, to commit those alleged acts of cruelty in the defense of their country's right to live. Those stories strengthened my conviction of the necessity of standing by Russia in her trials and tribulations.

I had hoped to be in Russia and see conditions for myself. Having been unable to enter Russia I went back. I was in Germany, in France, in Italy, and in Austria. I do not want to take up much time to give you my observations in all those countries. I shall tell you what I saw in Italy. I came there when the workers occupied the factories in order to forestall a lockout. (Applause.)

I was in Paris and Lille studying the labor movement in France. I was fortunate to get in touch with comrades who facilitated my investigations and I was able to get a great deal of information, which was published in our papers. While there I heard of what was going on in Italy. I decided to go down to Italy and see what had really happened. In the train, on the other side of the Franco-Italian frontier, an American manufacturer was among my traveling companions. Recognizing me as an American, he began talking. He was engaged in some manufacturing line in Italy and one of his factories was seized, so that he was quite interested in the situation there. (Laughter.) It was his firm opinion that all that was necessary in order to solve the industrial problem in Italy was to take out the labor leaders and shoot them. If the leaders were shot, there would be peace and order and security and safety and happiness in Italy. But the government had no backbone, and didn't have the courage to shoot the leaders of the labor movement. As the train was speeding on, we passed by one place. I had not noticed it, but my companion called my attention to it. He said, "See this?" There was a shipyard and a red flag was flying over the building. (Uproarious applause and laughter.) And he said, "You see, they have seized it and they put the red flag there." And before I had a chance to catch my breath, we reached another place, and again there was a red flag over a factory. (Uproarious applause.) And the manufacturer said, "You see, here is another one." (Laughter and applause.) And so the poor man nearly collapsed with heartache (laughter) from the sight of those red flags on the factories. The man was wondering how the government permitted all that. The red flags kept on growing in number and my companion was telling me how unreliable the government was. He wanted

to know, "Why do we pay taxes if the government does not protect us?"

I arrived at Rome. During my three month trip through Europe, I had many thrills. An American who does not know Europe gets many unexpected sensations in Europe. I had traveled through different countries and cities and found new impressions everywhere, but no city in the world impressed me as Rome did.

It is an old city. It is a beautiful city. When I entered old Rome and saw the names on the street signs and palaces and other buildings and recognized names of persons and institutions recorded in history, names of the great men of the ages; when I thought that those people were walking on the very spot where I was, and when I passed by those palaces and other buildings, and when I came to the Coliseum, that famous Coliseum of which we have all read, and to the Arch of Titus, and other monuments of past ages, I read the history of the human race. I visualized the people of those ages walking through the same streets, I almost saw them alongside of me. I was in an atmosphere and in a state of mind where I realized the continuity of the human race.

When you come to the ancient Roman Forum and look at those old ruins, in which the famous orations were delivered, you can almost hear them. Then you begin to feel that you are a link in the long, human chain and can trace your lineage back to the beginning of history. Then you begin to feel that you are a living part of the past ages, and that the past ages live in you. Then you can also give full play to your imagination and see the generations that will follow us and be a direct continuation of ourselves and we shall live in them.

It was those impressions that remained strongest with me. Then I was able to understand why Rome was called the Eternal City.

I arrived at Rome on Sunday. Monday morning the Italian comrades took me into one of the metal factories, which was occupied by the workers. I was welcomed as a representative of American labor, and when I told them that we had many Italian members in our organization, I was doubly welcome. The secretary of the metal workers' union gave me a letter, the only key with which to open the gates of the factory. (Laughter.) With my Italian comrades I landed in front of the factory, which looked very attractive because of the fine red flag which adorned the building and the red sentinel who was keeping watch. (Applause.) I handed my letter to the gatekeeper; he took it to the chairman of the factory council. The chairman, with a few members of the council, came out to receive me. They did not know me. It was not to me the honor was extended. The letter said that I represented a big and progressive labor organization in America. They opened the gates wide and took us into the office. They called the whole council to meet us. It happened to be at the lunch hour, so the council took us into an improvised dining room. The workers were there eating lunch prepared for them by their wives on the factory premises. The council then took us through the factory. The first thing that attracted my attention was a series of inscriptions on the walls, including also the Soviet emblem. (Applause.) The most prominent of the inscriptions was: "He who does not work, neither shall he eat." (Applause.)

The members of the council showed me all departments of the factory, and explained to me how they were running the factory. Here is one instance: There was a certain kind of raw material of which they had more than they needed, but they were short in coal, so they arranged with the general organization of the metal workers, which had taken an inventory of the stocks of the various occupied

factories throughout the country, to take off their hands the surplus raw material and give them coal in return. They got the coal and operated the factory. The council showed me stocks of foodstuffs sent them by the peasant Socialist co-operatives. They also showed me their wonderful discipline. There was a bulletin board near the factory gate on which was posted the name of every workingman who had neglected his duty, came in late without sufficient excuse, or who had not done his work properly. Nominal fines were imposed for the moral effect. And the moral effect was there. The workers were reminded by inscriptions on the walls, in large type, that they were responsible for the success of the factory and they must not fall down on the job. And they didn't fall down on the job.

On that day conferences were going on with the employers. A settlement was reached, the workers received important concessions and the next morning the employer was allowed to come into the factory. (Laughter.)

A great deal has been said all over the world in criticism of the settlement made by the Italian metal workers. My attitude during that trip through Europe was that while I have my definite opinion of the affairs of the labor movement, and while I have definite views on certain subjects in Europe, I was an observer only. Knowing how little we know of conditions in Europe, and also how little the workers in Europe know of the labor movement in America, and how faulty our judgment of them is and their judgment of us is, I did not undertake to judge them. I mingled with all of them, the rights and the lefts and the centrists. I mingled with all the groups and gathered information everywhere but did not undertake to judge whether they acted right or wrong. I left that entirely to the Italian workers themselves.

In the articles which I wrote for "Advance" I explained both sides, those who favored holding the factories and those who favored a settlement. While I do not undertake to pass judgment on the above matter, I can say this with a clear conscience: In Italy, more so than in other countries in Europe, there is a real and genuine labor movement. The movement may make mistakes, but it is capable of learning from its own mistakes and striving to correct them. When I came into that occupied metal factory and saw the young girls there, workers in that factory, with the crosses hanging down from their necks, and doing their share in protecting the factory against possible attack and working in every respect along with their fellow workers, I knew that the influence and power of the labor movement, capable of inspiring loyalty and full co-operation in those workers, was not superficial, but that the movement was real, and deep-rooted in the workers' hearts and souls. (Applause.)

The workers of the world may be proud of the labor movement in Italy.

There are as many alignments in the Italian labor movement as anywhere else in the world. You have rights, centers and lefts, revolutionists, reformists and clerical unions, but when a general working class situation arises they act unitedly. I had the pleasure of seeing one such demonstration on the 14th of October, 1920. A committee, including representatives of all factions, was formed for the purpose of promoting the interests of Russia. That committee proclaimed a general strike of two hours for October 14, from 4 o'clock to 6 o'clock in the evening. When 4 o'clock came, the entire industrial life came to a standstill. Every worker left his place of work and came to the various meetings to give expression to the demand of the Italian laboring men upon the Italian government to recognize Soviet Russia. (Applause.) I was then in Milan. When I walked through

the streets I saw several groups of soldiers hidden in places where they could not be observed, ready to rush upon the workers and shoot them down. When I saw the workers of all trades carrying out that great demonstration without giving those soldiers the slightest chance to fire upon them, I knew that the Italian movement was a real movement, with perfect discipline. There were raids upon the labor movement made by the Fascisti, raids upon Socialist papers and union headquarters. But they were planned and carried out secretly, when the workers were unprepared.

There is also in Italy the wonderful peasant co-operative body, the Socialist peasant co-operatives, with nearly 1,000,000 members.

Of Italy I could speak at very great length and never get tired of speaking. I still feel in me the inspiration of the Italian labor movement. But I promised to be brief because of lack of time.

From Italy I went to Austria. There I saw another picture, a picture of hunger and death imposed upon the country by the war and the peace that followed it. There I saw people dying of starvation while walking the streets of the beautiful city. I had never seen anything like that before. I had never seen multitudes of people in whose faces you read hunger. I saw them there.

But in the same city I saw another thing, which holds out hope for the future. The vice-mayor of the city, a Socialist, whose term of office was expiring about that time, took me through several institutions maintained by an organization for the workers' children. The salutation in those institutions is "Friendship," instead of "Good morning" or "Good evening." The vice-mayor told me that the Italian labor movement took hundreds of those children, placed them in the Riviera, gave them the best care and kept them for several months, according to the needs of each

child. The child who was in the worst physical condition was kept longer than the child in better condition. The Italian workers gave them the best possible care, and when the children regained their health, they were sent back and others taken in their places. I was told that it was the intention of that organization to arrange for an interchange of visiting children among the several countries. When conditions improve in Austria, the Austrian labor movement will invite Italian children to visit them; children will be sent to Italy to play with Italian children, and the same will be done with other countries. Thus, the children in each country will grow up with personal love for the children of every other country. And if another war should come, the new generation will say, "We cannot fight those who were our comrades in childhood." This, my Austrian friend said, will build up a new international—the international of sacred and pure childhood and will make its contribution towards making war impossible in the future. (Applause.) When I saw that, I said to myself, "So long as faith in the nobility of human nature is so powerful that even under such terrible conditions as those under which the Viennese people are living, or, rather, slowly dying, they can still dream of bringing up the new generation in that sacred spirit which will make the future safe for the people, then there is hope that the people will ultimately take the affairs of the world in their own hands, and there may be no more wars." And there is hope that as those people take a greater share of the problems of the world into their own hands for solution, they will take all of the world's problems into their own hands and give us a better world, a beautiful world, a world safe for every honest man and woman willing to help in doing the world's work. (Continuous and uproarious applause ensued for a period of three-quarters of an hour.)

A New International Relationship A New World Power

The occasion for the following remarks was a membership mass meeting in Carnegie Hall, December 1, 1922, called to receive a report from Sidney Hillman, General President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, on conditions in Russia and the contracts concluded between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and Soviet Russia for constructive aid by the Amalgamated to Russian industry.

BROTHERS AND FRIENDS:

Four years ago, when the world was bled white as a result of the struggle between colossal powers for mutual destruction, a new voice made itself heard. It came from across the sea, from distant America, bringing a message of hope to suffering mankind. President Wilson, who had not been trained in the arts of diplomacy, addressed himself to the peoples of the world with a program which seemed radically different from anything promulgated by the skillful diplomats of the old world.

It was then that the human race demonstrated more forcibly than at any other time its tragic helplessness. Over a billion human beings had blindly and mutely obeyed the oppressive and destructive commands of their masters. They had not the courage to disobey and followed the rulers to disaster. On the surface it seemed as if those great multitudes accepted their fate willingly and enthusiastically. But when a word came that seemed to have a true human ring it found a universal and spontaneous response repudiating, in effect, the misrule imposed upon the people. In the depth of their souls the people were yearning for a word of peace and hope. They needed someone with authority to speak to them and for them. And when that someone appeared he won the hearts of those multitudes. When President Wilson came to Europe he was acclaimed as the savior of the world. Not by the rulers but by the suffering people. In Wilson, the inarticulate people found their own speech. They poured out their hearts to him in deep gratitude. But President Wilson failed in his promise. When he was taken in hand by the brigands at Versailles he surrendered to them bag and bag-

gage. The hope he held out to the people was a grim joke.

The more than a billion people who had hailed with joy the message from the western democracy were again deceived; this time more cruelly because of the great hope held out to them.

They had pinned their faith and hope to one person because that one person happened to have been elevated by his Nation to the highest office in its gift; he had great authority and power and from his mouth the English language sounded so beautifully. The people trusted him because they had to trust somebody. We are still in an age when the millions are powerless and the privileged individuals are strong. The latter command; the former obey. When Wilson failed the people, all hope vanished again.

Heart-breaking helplessness of a thousand million people; when one man in a position of power promised to help they rejoiced; when that one man broke his promise they were lost.

Since the end of the war on the battlefield and the inauguration of "peace," things have been steadily going from bad to worse. No one knows where relief will come from. It almost seems as if the situation is beyond the possibilities of relief. The people are again hoping for a savior, a Messiah to make his appearance. No one knows where he will come from, but come he must, for all of Europe is ruined, devastated, demoralized—the industrial, the economic and the moral life. Millions, tens of millions and hundreds of millions of people are waiting for some miracle to come to pass because there is nothing else to hope for. But miracles do not come, demoralization is taking its natural course and the very life of modern civilization is at stake. (Applause.)

This is the horrible picture the world presents today.

There is one country where the people did not resign themselves to their fate and refused to trust their destinies to miracles. Russia! In that country the people dared

to rise and say: "We shall not wait for some great personage to speak down to us from a Mount Sinai and hand down to us Ten or Fourteen Commandments. We, the people, are the new Messiah. We shall lay down our own laws and commandments. We shall take our fate in our own hands and work out our own destinies as well as we can. We are our own masters!"

After the war great labor movements grew up in all countries. The ruling classes of the world were genuinely worried and frightened by the new power. But their worries and fears soon passed. The ruling classes succeeded in breaking down the power of the labor movement.

Outside of Russia there is only one important country in which the workers have made real progress—England. (Applause.)

The great object lesson taught us by Russia is that the working people, having assumed power, and being determined to hold it, the power stays with them. It has already been demonstrated conclusively that there is no force anywhere strong enough to take the power away from the Russian workers. There is great suffering in that country, economically and otherwise, but, with and despite all that, the Russian workers are blazing the way to a safe and happy future built by the industrial and agricultural workers for their own selves. (Applause.)

We have at present in this country a visitor from another land, one of the makers of the Versailles "peace." He came here to preach the gospel of international hatred. He came here to incite the American people to new militarism and another world war. At this time, when the message of more human slaughter is brought to us, it is fitting that we receive again a word of greeting from the country where labor rules and renew our pledge to continue the work of industrial reconstruction in Russia. The efforts of the American and

other workers on behalf of the workers in Russia will show that there is a new power in this world capable of stopping war for all time and making mankind happy forever; that power is the organized working class of the world. (Applause.)

Let the tigers and hyenas of the ruling class preach all the international bitterness and hatred they wish. We shall carry to American labor our message of workers' love and solidarity for the workers in Russia, England and all other countries.

We are told that the Russian workers are Bolsheviks and Communists. They have as much right to be what they are as we have to be what we are.

It is clear that in our enterprise for Russia we have no one to look to for support but the labor movement. The interests that the progressive workers have in helping Russia we cannot expect non-workers to have. Our purpose is to help Russian industries. That is an ideal which must be carried out along practical lines. We have confidence in our Russian fellow workers and therefore have confidence in our enterprise.

The Russian Government has established its title by rendering all intervention useless, defeating all military enemies, overcoming the blockade and having maintained itself all these years.

We say to our fellow workers in Russia: "While our ruling class refuses to recognize your government, we, the workers, do recognize it and send you and your government our brotherly greetings.

Our convention last May authorized the formation of the Russian Industrial Corporation in order to help the Russian workers in their task of industrial reconstruction. We organized that corporation and sent a message of encouragement and a promise of aid to the workers in Russia. Tonight we

pledge ourselves to that task with renewed strength and vigor. Let our next message to Russia be more than assurance of help, let it be a substantial amount of money, which will put thousands of people at work and strengthen the economic foundation of the Russian workers' Republic.

From workers to workers! A new international relationship, a new world power! (Great applause.)

HOW TO HELP RUSSIA

Workers' Russia is rebuilding its shattered industrial life. It needs assistance—not contributions or charity, but constructive, cooperating aid. There are many ways in which to aid Russia. There is one specific way approved by Russia itself. It is by way of promotion of investments in Russian industry. For this purpose the Russian-American Industrial Corporation, with headquarters at 31 Union Square, New York, N. Y., has been organized. It offers shares of stock in Russian reconstruction. Will you subscribe? Write for particulars to Sidney Hillman, President of the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Do it without fail.

The enterprise was promoted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. It is chartered under the laws of the United States. American unions, liberal groups and people of consequence in many walks of life support it.

If you are interested in this enterprise, buy a share in the Russian-American Industrial Corporation. Fill in the blank on the next page.

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